

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00

DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 /051 W

----- 122981

R 210400Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8145

INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, JA

SUBJECT: DSP CONVENTION ADOPTS PROPOSAL FOR REFORMIST-CONSERVATIVE  
COALITION GOVERNMENT

SUMMARY: AT FEBRUARY CONVENTION, DSP ADOPTED ACTION POLICY  
WHICH INCLUDES PROPOSAL FOR REFORMIST-CONSERVATIVE COALITION  
GOVERNMENT. THIS MARKED POLICY SHIFT SEEMS LIKELY TO CAUSE  
PROBLEMS FOR DOMEI-DSP RELATIONSHIP AND TO GENERATE FURTHER  
DISUNITY IN OPPOSITION CAMP. END SUMMARY.

1. DSP HELD ITS 19TH REGULAR CONVENTION FEBRUARY 17-19 IN  
TOKYO. BOTH CHAIRMAN IKKO KASUGA AND SEC GEN SABURO TSUKAMOTO  
WERE REELECTED ALONG WITH VICE CHAIRMEN MASAO NAKAMURA AND  
TADASHI KODAIRA. ONLY NOTEWORTHY PERSONNEL CHANGE WAS  
ADDITON OF FORMER SEC GEN RYOSAKU SASAKI AS THIRD VICE CHAIRMAN.  
SASAKI, WHO RESIGNED IN 1973 FOR HEALTH REASONS AND TO ACCEPT  
RESPONSIBILITY FOR EARLIER DSP ELECTION SETBACKS, IS FAVORITE  
OF ANTI-KASUGA ELEMENTS IN PARTY. THEY SEE HIM AS RESTORING  
CERTAIN AMOUNT OF COLOR AND VIGOR TO BASICALLY STODGY  
LEADERSHIP LINEUP.

2. ALTHOUGH OTHERWISE ROUTINE AFFAIR, DSP CONVENTION  
ATTRACTED MUCH ATTENTION THIS YEAR BECAUSE OF CONTROVERSIAL  
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AND POTENTIALLY DEVISIVE ASPECTS OF NEW ACTION POLICY WHICH

IT APPROVED. FOLLOWING STANDARD FARE CRITICISM OF PAST LDP PROGRAMS, OF CONSERVATIVES' FAILURE TO COPE WITH JAPAN'S ECONOMIC ILLS AND OF EVILS OF "MONEY IS POWER" POLITICS, ACTION POLICY THEN RECITES EVIDENCE OF CONTINUING LDP ELECTORAL DECLINE. THIS DECLINE, IT SAYS, IS HARBINGER OF LOSS OF LDP DIET MAJORITY, WHICH, IN TURNS, MEANS THAT APPEARANCE OF COALITION GOVERNMENT IS NOT FAR DISTANT. SO FAR, NOTHING NEW. BUT THEN COMES CONTENTIOUS POINT. BECAUSE OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLICY DIFFERENCES AMONG OPPOSITION PARTIES, POLICY STATEMENT GOES ON, CREATION OF REFORMIST COALITION TO REPLACE LDP REGIME IS IMPOSSIBLE. THEREFORE, COLLAPSE OF LDP MAJORITY WILL OF NECESSITY PRODUCE "COALITION OR COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP GOING BEYOND CONVENTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF CONSERVATIVES OR REFORMISTS". IN SHORT, DSP APPEARS TO CALL FOR SOME KIND OF CONSERVATIVE-REFORMIST GRAND COALITION.

3. SINCE DSP HAS LONG ADVOCATED OPPOSITION TO BOTH LDP AND JCP AND URGED EVENTUAL CREATION OF JSP-KOMEITO-DSP COALITION GOVERNMENT, NEW LINE REPRESENTS MAJOR POLICY SHIFT. THEREFORE, EVEN BEFORE CONVENTION, RELEASE OF DRAFT ACTION POLICY GENERATED LIVELY DISCUSSION IN PRESS AND POLITICAL CIRCLES AS TO PRECISELY WHAT KIND OF COALITION ARRANGEMENT DSP LEADERS NOW HAD IN MIND. IT ALSO PRODUCED CRITICISM, BOTH IN AND OUT OF PARTY, TO EFFECT THAT NEW LINE CONSTITUTED BETRAYAL OF REFORMIST IDEALS AND LENT CREDENCE TO ARGUMENTS THAT DSP WAS LITTLE MORE THAN JUNIOR PARTNER TO LDP. INCLOSED CONVENTION SESSIONS SOME DELEGATES REPORTEDLY CHALLENGED PROPOSAL AS CONTRARY TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES, WHILE OTHERS, ACCEPTING NOTION OF EVENTUAL COOPERATION WITH LDP, ARGUED THAT PROPOSAL WAS PREMATURE AND TACTICALLY UNSOUND SINCE IT WOULD DENIGRATE DSP'S REFORMIST IMAGE. CHAIRMAN KASUGA, ALREADY UNDER FIRE FOR INVOLVING HIMSELF IN SUB-ROSA EFFORTS TO WORK OUT COALITION ARRANGEMENTS WITH LDP ELEMENTS JUST BEFORE MIKI WAS NAMED PRIME MINISTER, COUNTERED WITH PROTESTATIONS OF RESOLUTE DEDICATION TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES. HE FINALLY GAINED ACQUIESCENCE OF PROTESTING DELEGATES (ALTHOUGH ISSUE WAS NEVER REALLY IN DOUBT) WITH EXPLANATION THAT DSP LEADERSHIP HAD NO SPECIFIC PLAN FOR COALITION WITH LDP LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PRESENTLY IN MIND.

4. ACCORDING TO INFORMED DSP STAFFER, NEW ACTION POLICY WAS PERSONAL HANDIWORK OF CHAIRMAN KASUGA, AIDED BY SEC GEN TSUKAMOTO AND VICE CHAIRMAN KODAIRA. (OTHER SOURCES INDICATE BROADER PARTICIPATION.) PUBLIC RELEASE OF DRAFT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, HE SAID, SUBSEQUENTLY PRODUCED HEATED DEBATE IN THAT BODY BOTH ABOUT KASUGA'S

OPERATING STYLE AND WISDOM OF POLICY PROPOSAL. IN END, BOTH THERE AND IN CONVENTION, KASUGA'S DOMINANCE OF PARTY FINANCES AND ORGANIZATION, ESPECIALLY WITH ELECTIONS SOON AHEAD, MUTED SERIOUS PROTEST AND MADE APPROVAL FOREGONE CONCLUSION.

5. SAME STAFFER TOLD EMBOFF THAT, DESPITE AMBIGUOUS GLOSSES AT CONVENTION, THERE WAS NO DOUBT ABOUT KIND OF COALITION KASUGA HAD IN MIND. IT WAS LDP (NOT LDP SPLINTER) IN COMBINATION WITH DSP. REASONS WERE VERY SIMPLE: 1) IDEOLOGICALLY AND EMOTIONALLY KASUGA FELT AT HOME WITH CONSERVATIVES AND UNCOMFORTABLE WITH LEFTISTS; 2) HE HAD ESTABLISHED FINANCIAL TIES WITH LDP; 3) HE WAS CONVINCED THAT LOSS OF LDP MAJORITY WAS REAL POSSIBILITY; 4) HE HAD ABANDONED HOPES OF COOPERATION WITH JSP, CONSIDERING IT FIRMLY DOMINATED BY LEFT-WING SHAKAISHUGI KYOKAI; AND 5) HE HAD CONCLUDED OVERT MOVE WOULD IMPROVE CHANCES FOR DSP TO EVENTUALLY PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT AND SHARE IN LDP LANGESSE THROUGH BENEFITS FROM REORGANIZED KOKUMIN KYOKAI.

6. COMMENT: DESPITE ITS MEAGER DIET REPRESENTATION AND RECURRENT QUESTIONS ABOUT ITS VERY ABILITY TO SURVIVE FOR MUCH LONGER, DSP, BY ADOPTING NEW POLICY LINE, HAS FOR MOMENT CAPTURED SHARE OF JAPANESE POLITICAL SPOTLIGHT. WHILE SIGNIFICANCE SHOULD NOT BE OVERBLOWN, DSP MOVE DOES SEEM LIKELY TO EXERT INFLUENCE OF SOME IMPORTANCE.

7. MOST IMMEIDATE REPERCUSSIONS OF NEW ACTION POLICY WILL PROBABLY BE FELT IN DOMEI, DSP'S PRIMARY SUPPORT ORGANIZATION. AS IN PARTV PROPER, THERE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN DIVISION OF OPINION AMONG UNION OFFICIALS OVER ADVISABILITY OF PLAN WITH PREEPONDERANT FEELING RUNNING AGAINST IT. FOR TIME BEING, HOWEVER,, DOMEI SEEMS TO BE GOING ALONG WITH DSP LEADERSHIP. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HOW FAR RANK AND FILE CAN GO IN SUPPORT OF APPARENT TILT TOWARD BUSINESS-ORIENTED LDP IS SERIOUS QUESTION. WHILE WE STILL DO NOT HAVE CLEAR PICTURE OF DOMEI THINKING, IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT KASUGA'S PLOY HAS PRODUCED STRAINS IN DSP-DOMEI RELATIONS AND COULD ALIENATE UNION MEN WHO IN PAST HAVE VOTED DSP TICKET.

8. CONSERVATIVE REACTION HAS BEEN NEGATIVE. LDP DIETMENT HAVE TOLD EMBOFF THAT DSP IS OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE ANYWAY, BUT WHATEVER UTILITY IT DOES HAVE CAN BE BEST MAINTAINED BY RETENTION OF REFORMIST COLORATION AND COOPERATION WITH LDP ON CASE BY CASE BASIS. MOREOVER, THEY ARE IRRITATED BY DSP PREDICTION OF IMPENDING LDP COLLAPSE. REACTION THEY CONVEY IS THAT OF SOMEONE WHO FINDS UNWANTED BABY ON DOORSTEP.

9. IN OPPOSITION CAMP, NEW DSP POSTURE COULD HAVE  
IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS. FOR ONE THING IT WEAKENS POSITION  
OF JSP RIGHT-WING ADVOCATES OF JSP-KOMEITO-DSP ALLIANCE. FOR  
ANOTHER IT ADDS ONE MORE IMPEDIMENT TO OPPOSITION PARTY  
ELECTORAL COOPERATION IN COMING LOCAL ELECTIONS. HOWEVER  
ALL THIS PLAYS OUT IN WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD, DSP POLICY  
SHIFT IS MOST DECISIVE BY ANY JAPANESE PARTY IN LONG TIME,  
AND FOR THAT REASON ALONE IS NOTEWORTHY.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** GOVERNMENT REFORM, COALITION GOVERNMENT, POLICIES, PARTY MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 21 FEB 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ShawDG  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975TOKYO02238  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750061-1066  
**From:** TOKYO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750222/aaaaatcq.tel  
**Line Count:** 178  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ShawDG  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 15 JUL 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <15 JUL 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <22 DEC 2003 by ShawDG>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** DSP CONVENTION ADOPTS PROPOSAL FOR REFORMIST-CONSERVATIVE COALITION GOVERNMENT  
**TAGS:** PINT, JA, DSP, (KASUGA, IKKO), (TSUKAMOTO, SABURO)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006